

# THE INTERNATIONALIST

## C O N T E N T S

" WHAT WE STAND FOR "

" THE THIRD CAMP "

" STATEMENT ON THE THIRD CAMP  
CONFERENCE "

" LETTERS FROM EUROPE "

" ONLY THE WORKERS' REVOLUTION  
CAN DEMOLISH THE MONSTER  
AMERICAN STATE "

## Address

Winter 1953-54

P.O. Box 44, Bronx 60, N.Y.

Price 15¢

What We Stand For

- 1-Our conception of the world and the society proper to it is that of Marx's scientific Socialism.
- 2-For the reconstitution of a Revolutionary International against the International of Betrayal (Social Democracy, Stalinism, Trotskyism).
- 3-Against collaboration with the bourgeois and pseudo-proletarian parties which uphold the false and deceitful banner of "true democracy". Therefore we oppose the "united front" which is a front opposed to the working class.
- 4-We denounce as counter-revolutionary, every movement which, with an eye to easier agitation and electoral success views parliamentary decisions as useful. During electoral campaigns we continue the agitation for the general historic aims of the working class. We do not take the least responsibility for the pseudo-proletarian parties (Stalinist, Socialist, Trotskyite or Laborite).
- 5-The trade unions of the CIO & AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and "Independent Unions" are part of the legal apparatus of the Capitalist State. Working class unity will be achieved on the basis of the platform of the party of the revolution, and, under its leadership, within these organisms, created in the revival of the proletarian class struggle.
- 6-The farm workers are the class-brothers of the Industrial workers and must be won to a position of class-solidarity.
- 7-All so-called movements of colonial independence have an Imperialist base. There does not exist for the colonial and semi-colonial areas, any longer, the problem of a bourgeois revolution. The only road is proletarian revolution.
- 8-The proletariat must work for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie and its satellites in the advanced industrial sectors of world capitalism, as well as for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie and satellites in the colonial and semi-colonial areas of world capitalism, in time of war.
- 9-The defeat of the bourgeoisie, on a world scale, accomplished thru the civil wars of the proletariat, under the guidance and leadership of the Revolutionary International Party, will be the beginning of the Socialist Reorganization of Society under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
- 10-The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, will serve as the transition to the classless society of Socialism, where the State will cease to exist, and Government and Tyranny, the history of the past.
- 11-The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not to be understood as a defense of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will arise in Russia, which is now an Imperialist State, thru Socialist revolution.



"The Third Camp"

"The Internationalist" reproduces on another page the "Statement on the 'Third Camp' Conference" held in N.Y.C., Nov 27 thru 29, 1953.

The observer from "The Internationalist" at the "Third Camp" conference solidarized himself with the Libertarian Socialist League and Cercle Zimmerwald and signed the statement on the "Third Camp" conference in order to more forcibly demonstrate that the "Third Camp" conference is not a genuine proletarian internationalist movement against Imperialist War. There is a distinction between this position and the standpoint which holds that the "Third Camp" conference is not a genuine "Third Camp" movement against Imperialist war. While the Libertarian Socialist League and Cercle Zimmerwald delegates are serious in their opposition to Imperialist war their view is not precise. The correct position in the opinion of revolutionary marxists is the one that holds the two social classes internationally are the capitalist class and the working class, the former, because it owns the means of production, the latter because it is exploited at the point of production. The Russian State and its satellites, in the view of the "Internationalist" and the Libertarian Socialist League is a State Capitalist system, that is, an economic order wherein the investment of capital in the productive process and the ownership of the means of production, is vested solely in the State, which is a form of rule of capitalism in the period of its decline. The working class is exploited at the point of production by this State Capitalism as brutally as in Western "private" monopoly capitalism. Private monopoly capitalism in its turn is displaying the same general evolution toward the State Capitalism that the Russian Imperialist bloc has already traversed.

Therefore, from the class viewpoint, which is the only correct view, the "Russian war camp" is in the same camp as the "American war camp". The working class is faced with the Imperialist domination of world capitalism whether of the Russian or American brand. The revolutionary working class organizations must come out clearly with working class banners and slogans.

The Independent Socialist League, which is neither independent nor socialist in a revolutionary sense, is a satellite of the Liberal Party of N.Y. It, the I.S.L., supported Halley, Liberal Party candidate for mayor of N.Y.C., and a member of the Democratic Party. Thus the ISL is on the side of the bourgeoisie. The ISL is concerned with the "integrity of the nation", (Labor Action, Sep 28, 1953-page 11, "Socialists Fight Against Imperialist War", Section: War and the Nation, last paragraph). The ISL advocates "defense of the nation", *ibid*, next to last paragraph). The ISL advocates that the working class take command of the defense of the nation in the form of a labor government in a pre-war and war period. (*ibid*, section, The Task of Defense).

The meaning of the foregoing is that the Independent Socialist League is ready to act as an agent in preventing the American workers from becoming conscious of themselves as part of a world working class breaking the reactionary boundaries of nations. It, the ISL, is ready to act to prevent united international working class action for the overthrow of capitalism on a world scale. It is ready to defend the American Imperialist Empire by offering the workers a labor party government as a substitute for the real need of the workers; Socialism.

Parallel with the above, the Independent Socialist League "advises" the European Marxists to enter the European Social Democratic and Labor Parties (*ibid*, section: For a Third Camp Movement). The fact that the Labor and Social-Democratic parties have been props for Imperialism for the last (40) forty years means nothing to the ISL, because the leadership of the Independent Socialist League is hell-bent on selling out and playing bourgeois politics.

The ISL sees no conflict between the national interests of the United States and the working class of this and other countries (*ibid*, section: Imperialism and the People).

Thru no fault of the Independent Socialist League "presumably", a leaflet entitled "Stalinism is not Socialism", signed by Max Shactman of the ISL, Harry

Fleischman of the Socialist Party and August Claessens of the Social-Democratic Federation was dropped over China by U.S. bombers in May 1950, presumably thru the sponsorship of the State Department (Labor Action, Sep 28, 1953, "The ISL vs. the Subversive List", page 3, section, Evidence for the ISL).

It is obvious where the Independent Socialist League stands. It is opposed to the revolutionary interests of the international working class openly and unashamedly. The pattern of theory no longer needs be patiently traced in order to show where the ISL is travelling. It has completed its journey.

It is preposterous to consider this tendency (ISL) in alliance with the Peacemakers (Pacifists) as a movement against Imperialist War. It is a trap to confuse and demoralize workers who want a real struggle against Imperialist War.

The Dec. 14 issue of Labor Action carried the "revised" "Statement on the Third Camp" Conference Resolution. The "revised" resolution still bases itself on the line of "Defense of the Nation", and therefore must be rejected by revolutionary Marxists. (Labor Action, Dec. 14, page 5, section "Defense of the Nation".

### " STATEMENT ON THE 'THIRD CAMP' CONFERENCE"

New York City, November 27 thru 29, 1953

At its regular conference held in Chicago, October 1 thru 4, 1953, Peacemakers heretofore exclusively a pacifist organization, adopted a resolution advocating a Third Camp as the alternative to the war camps of Eastern and Western imperialism and for the first time proposing the social ownership of the means of production as the solution for our social ills.

A group of observers from radical groups who were present subsequently conferred with peacemaker representatives and decided to launch a Third Camp conference to include all radical and pacifist organizations opposed to both war camps. This group elected itself a planning committee for the proposed conference and drew up a list of 14 groups which it regarded as acceptable as sponsors, which list excluded the Libertarian Socialist League. The committee decided to meet in New York City on November 3, 1953, together with any representatives of invited sponsor groups, to plan details of the conference. At this Planning Committee meeting, attended by only representatives of Peacemakers, Independent Socialist League, the latter's youth group, Socialist Youth League, the Young Peoples Socialist League (Independent) which shortly thereafter joined SYL and the Libertarian Socialist Committee (of Chicago), this committee elected itself Steering Committee of the proposed conference and delegated to itself power to make the rules and regulations for the conference. The LSC representative here raised the question of the exclusion of the IWW as sponsor and after a long debate it was decided to invite its participation. Immediately thereafter, a Peacemaker moved that the ISL also be invited as a sponsor. This motion was withdrawn after all the speakers had expressed opposition, based upon a decision made in Chicago that the sponsoring committee was not to be augmented, but which had just been abrogated by the invitation to the IWW.

The LSL received no official information about the conference altho its representatives had been repeatedly assured that we would be invited to participate.

Despite this very apparent discrimination against the LSL, its representatives attended the conference, registered and made their presence known. At no time during the 3 days of conference sessions was there registered and present any but the original 5 of the invited 14 sponsors, plus the Libertarian Socialist League, which had no official standing until Saturday afternoon, and 1 of these 5, the Libertarian Socialist Committee delegation, attended only the Friday night session before departing for home. Not a single representative of a student group attended despite the high expectations voiced by the Planning Committee, nor was there present one of the "prominent" individuals also hoped for.

On the first day of the conference, those present were presented with a Draft Statement, drawn up by the self-constituted Steering Committee. Delegates from the LSL, the Cercle Zimmerwald of Paris and the observer from "The Internationalist" attacked statements made in the statement and were told by the chairman that this was not the time and place for programmatic changes.

Nowhere in the original call for the conference nor in the Draft Statement is there a single reference to support of the class struggle for the workers through their own organizations, the trade unions, or of seeking trade union support for the Third Camp movement. Attempts to introduce these matters in panel discussions and on the conference floor were met with evasion and complete indifference by the original sponsors, whose prime concern was students. No genuine Socialist Third Camp could possibly be developed which ignores such vital matters.

An LSL representative protested to the chairman the exclusion of his group from sponsorship and was informed that LSL might be included later in the continuation committee, should that body decide to include it. Subsequently, a similar protest was made on the floor and the same response given: that it was entirely up to the committee and was not conference business. It was asserted at that time by a YPSL rep. that "This is our conference", a statement whose significance was quite apparent. A motion made on the floor by another YPSL rep. and seconded, referred the matter to the Steering Committee with the recommendation that LSL be admitted to full sponsorship and participation, was voted down by the narrow margin of 13 to 9, with many abstentions. On the afternoon of the second day, announcement was made that the Steering Committee, to which the fraternal delegate of Cercle Zimmerwald had been elected, decided by a vote of all except one that the LSL should be admitted not only to voice, but also to vote in the conference with representation on the Steering Committee. By that time it had become plain that the conference was a dismal failure and that the single vote of the LSL could not possibly affect the combined votes of Peacemakers, ISL, SYL and YPSL.

At the final session of the conference, the chairman announced that the Steering Committee proposed the immediate formation of a Third Camp Continuation Committee to continue and enlarge the work of the conference, and that the first vote of the conference would be on that issue. The fraternal delegate of Cercle Zimmerwald asked that the formation of such a committee be deferred until after the adoption or rejection of the Draft Statement, on the ground that one of the participating organizations, the LSL, had already indicated that it could not enter into any so-called Third Camp which included the concept of national defense. He said he hoped that this would be deleted so that cooperation on general Third Camp lines could be continued and other less essential differences resolved in the course of time. A YPSL rep. made a motion that because the Draft Statement included a reference approving national defense, that the statement be rejected and a new statement be drawn up excluding any reference to support of national defense. A rep. of LSL stated that the elimination of any reference to support of national defense was fundamental to LSL's continued participation in the conference.

The observer from "The Internationalist" underscored the opposition to support of national defense and characterized the Draft Statement as substantially the program of the Independent Socialist League and a concession to capitalist prejudices on the privileged position of labor in this country, on collectivism in the Soviet Union, and the illusion that the United Nations can be used to further the fight against imperialism.

Despite the foregoing criticisms, the motion made by the YPSL rep. to reject the original Draft Statement and write a new one was not even permitted to come to a vote by the chairman.

In the course of this discussion, the chairman several times reiterated that



the Draft would be referred to the editorial committee composed of himself, a formal delegate from the ISL and the YPSL rep who had announced the entry of his group into the ISL youth group. The signatories to this statement refused to accept an organizational maneuver to editorialize the existing Draft (which might or might not eliminate the aforementioned objection) there being no opportunity by the conference to hear the edited version) as a substitute for the need of a genuine, anti-war, anti-imperialist program based upon democratic discussion from the rank and file of the Third Camp conference. Thereupon, a rep. of the ISL jumped up and exclaimed that this was the document and the statement was going to stay there, affirming: "We are for the defense of the nation".

Upon the arbitrary ruling of the chair that the only question before the house was acceptance or rejection of the Draft Statement as a whole as originally submitted, plus a reiteration of his statement previously referred to regarding editorializing, the matter was put to a vote and the Draft, including the "defense of the nation" reference, was carried.

Immediately, the fraternal delegate of Cercle Zimmerwald declared that neither Cercle Zimmerwald nor any other European Third Camp organization would approve an alleged Third Camp conference which actually supported American imperialism, and that he was therefore withdrawing.

An LSL rep, speaking for his delegation, stated that his organization could not remain in a conference that had in fact become an American imperialist Third Camp affair, and the entire LSL delegation left the hall.

The observer from "The Internationalist", in principle opposed to common action with pacifists, solidarized himself with the LSL delegation and the Cercle Zimmerwald delegate, and left the hall with the others.

Despite the inevitable fact, as shown by this conference, that adherents of "defense of the nation" cannot create a genuine Third Camp, there exists not only the need, but a growing awareness of the necessity for the formation of a Socialist Third Camp. The signatories to this document invite all supporters of a genuine Socialist Third Camp to cooperate with them in future efforts to establish such a movement.

Fraternally submitted,

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE (Delegation)  
CERCLE ZIMMERWALD (Fraternal delegate)  
"THE INTERNATIONALIST", a publication of the  
ideas of Left Communism. (Observer)

## Letter From England

22 April 53

When we first came into London we went directly to an address recommended by a fellow in Joe's French class and got a room there for \$3.50 a day including breakfast. Both this section of the city (Clapham Common) and the countryside from Southampton to London are very nice to see: neat farmlands, prim parks, green grass, flowering shrubs. (We also got an education in Canadian farming as one of our fellow-travelers on the train was a Saskatchewan farmer returning for a visit to his native Luxembourg, & he had a running commentary on how the soil, cattle etc. were on his place, even waking up Joe to be sure he got a point).

The following day we thought we'd cover the high spots by taking a guided tour thru the West Eng: Houses of Parliament, monuments, Trafalgar Square, Westminster. Never again! Aside from Britain's greatness in general, we dunked in the coronation all the way; this was emphasized by an American tourist (of course!) who would not leave the not-unwilling guide alone as to details of the coronation, the royal family etc. The guide treated us to rare bits of humor such as Princess Margaret's remarking on the birth of Prince Charles; "Now I'm Charley's aunt!" Seriously the coronation is costing the city (borough) of Westminster 230,000 pounds; scaffolding is being built for wooden seats along 7 miles of street. Everywhere and everything reflects it; probably even the most devoted monarchist is tiring of the propaganda. Incidentally, our guide said that the seating is to be tested by soldiers first, so that it will be perfectly safe for the paying guests.

Unfortunately we are not in a section of the city which is predominately working class and from here and judging also by the downtown section, things look pretty good, altho on closer observation clothing is somewhat worn. The people we have looked up are dressed a bit more poorly, but the general impression we get is that things are not half so bad as painted. This is true also for the climate. There were sporadic showers on only one day -- there has been sun every day, usually mixed with some cloudiness. The city as a whole has a surprisingly attractive appearance. Rebuilding has been widespread and there are not many bomb-sites left- (or so we were informed). We saw the docks area in the East End where there has been municipal building. The city is not zoned for commercial and residential use, so the new buildings are right near the docks. It is hard to judge, tho, when you do not see the residents. For example, there was a long row of blackened gray stone houses in the same area which did not look too bad, but then I saw a woman poke her head out of the doorway of one; she was sloppily dressed in a cotton dress and she was arguing with a neighbor who also emerged; this, plus several children milling around, gave a much worse look to the dwellings. Evidences of bomb damage are still here -- an interesting discovery was made when one area was cleared away; remains of a medieval ghetto. Hitler's contribution to progress!

More on housing: The new ones have central heating, hot & cold water. We were in one apartment in a privately built block of flats where there was a radiator in the hallway & another in one room; this was a 4-room flat. It was a nice layout, modern-looking, but very simply furnished. Saturday evening we had supper with a couple we met (anarchists). They were in a neighborhood of ritzy houses (Hampstead Heath) but they had one room on the top floor and an alcove which they had converted into a kitchen. All plumbing was one floor below. They had redecorated the place themselves: walls in 3 colors, bookshelves over the couch -- a familiar scheme. A gas-heater provided warmth. We had a pleasant evening there -- 5 cronies turned up, and engaged in chit-chat about life, love, art.

Transportation seems excellent -- both the tube & bus lines, altho there is none between 12:15 at night and 5:15 a.m. I think one line does run but it is not available from all places. Fares are from 2d to 14d, depending on length of trip. This seems very cheap to us -- as do other things -- and we constantly have to keep re-

minding ourselves that wages are also much lower. In fact, we have been spending far less than we expected. Of course, we have not spent much as not much that is attractive is going on now -- it is an off-season in general. A great many plays are on but none seem worthwhile, and the ballet also had nothing appealing. We saw one movie, Rene Claire's "Les Belles de Nuit" which is amusing and well done, but which we almost didn't get to see because it is billed as "Beauties of the Night", a correct translation but the beauties referred to are dreams (some beauties appear there of course). There is just as much emphasis on cheese-cake in these ads, altho not in general advertising.

Wages on the average are about \$20 a week. A skilled worker can get up to \$30. Prices of food are relatively a little higher, I think, altho restaurant means are relatively what we would pay. Rents are lower but in the majority of cases fuel has to be provided by the tenant. Telephones are rarer, and so are auto's. Vauxhall Motors factory not far from London (1 hour by train) employs 13,000 workers, but in contrast to Detroit where the auto workers themselves provide a large market for the product, we saw bicycles stacked up outside.

One useful thing our guided tour accomplished -- we learned that we could get into the House of Commons that night (April 17) to hear the debate on the new budget. At 815 p.m. that evening we took our places at the end of a line stretching out into the street. By 9 p.m. we got into the "strangers' gallery", which, in contrast to the House itself, was full. There were over 20 Labor & Opposition MP's present & I don't know how many Tories as we could not see their side well from where we sat. It was a rather dead debate. First one side and then the other would get up, in a routine manner. The LP line was presented by Aneurin Bevan Monday morning. Sunday night, we went to an LP mass meeting in Paddington (14¢ each) where Bevan was the main speaker.

This was a packed meeting of maybe 2000. People were standing all around the walls. Altho this was called officially to boost the LP state in the local elections, no one disguised the fact that it was Bevan's meeting. He is an excellent speaker -- effective, able to carry the crowd with him and a demagog, not too careful of the consistency of his arguments. He first presented the LP line on the Tory-sponsored budget, criticizing it for such points as removal of purchase tax on mink coats, lightening the tax on unearned income, raising pensioners' tax, cost of school lunches. Actually it was clear from the debates in parliament & from the LP's Daily Herald that they have no basic criticism of the budget. Naively, Bevan & the LP are wailing that the credit for restoring the country is theirs; Bevan even complained that they would be called in again when the country got into a jam. In attacking the budget, Bevan advanced 2 contradictory theses; (1) Emphasis should be put on getting food and necessities before heavy industry is expanded; (2) Tories are removing controls too rapidly; further effort by the people is needed. He expanded (2) into a eulogy for the way the nation had flexed its muscles under the LP govt. Internationally, Bevan repeated the need to keep Britain a great nation. His peace talk amounted to blaming the U.S. for Korean involvement and for not dealing more amicable with Russia. He came out pretty strongly against the U.S., presenting British nationalism. I said he was a good speaker because he carried the audience with him on such points as a program of further sacrifice. In fact, he was applauded indiscriminately. Sunday afternoon we were at Hyde Park which struck us as a much larger and better Bughouse Square. 7 or 8 meetings were going on: pacifist, stalinist, SP, anarchist, church, Irish, Jewish. As one meeting ended, crowds would swell a neighboring one. People also were milling about, obviously out in the part to take in the sights and enjoy a sunny afternoon. Hyde Park is not the only speaking place; Speaking is permitted at commons (parks) -- on Clapham Common there were a pacifist, a Stalinist, and others making a pitch. Soap-boxing can also be done on street corners, altho, we were told, the police can invoke an "obstructing the streets" law. In short, there is a freer atmosphere-



it appears to us that radical opinion is more tolerated even if it is not supported. Radical groups, however, do not seem to be in much better shape (this is based only on minute observation and hearsay).

Yesterday we made a tour of Vauxhall Motors (owned by GM). Joe has a letter of reference from his union & the local bureaucrat here did the trick. We were met by the area secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers (machinists) Union who in turn passed us on to a company rep. This factory employing the largest number of workers in Britain, has one most modern building, brought from the U.S., with the most up-to-date machinery (I'm beginning to sound like our guide); this is the place we saw; it is a showplace for visitors. We made an inspection of the setup here which is devoted to engine assembly. Workers were operating 2 & 3 pieces of equipment. Slowly moving conveyors were used both for transporting parts & for storage of parts. One machine which works on bear gases does 21 operations. Wages here are about 58s including a production bonus which the man said was about 20%. Blackboards with efficiency ratings are up all over the place -- many not filled out, however. The man further informed us that time study men had reduced the amount of time spent in getting food from the cafeteria counters to 7 minutes for each man. The place is about 75% organized, the engineering union organizing on a vertical basis here. After a (for me) wearying morning, we were given a good luncheon and then turned over to the Rehabilitation Supt. who has charge of an interesting experiment, designed to cut down absenteeism and to deal with a future manpower shortage. In collaboration with an interested orthopedic surgeon, a plastic surgeon, and a physio-therapist they have set up a shop where men who have received injuries such as fractures, sprains, may recover the use of limbs temporarily immobilized and which would be benefited by exercise. Their claim is that by putting a worker at an adjustable machine, he is getting the exercise which he would not otherwise get; it is tied in with newer theories of healing and the psychological factor of getting the man to participate in the cure by doing work more useful than physical therapy usually is. The foreman said the men are paid at the rates they were receiving before injury plus the 20% bonus -- actually machines are so designed that they are doing a job the long way round. The Supt. claimed that this did not interfere with compensation. Aside from the company's angle, it looked like a really interesting proposition. This tour was followed by tea in the visitors' dining room again. What we wanted was to have a talk with one of the men, without one of these guides present but not a chance! They are working steadily with an eye on their bonus and with eyes on them. Actually, the place reminded me of that joke about the man working at Ford's when asked for suggestions as to increasing his output.

Well, this sums up a week in London. Naturally, many impressions are not conveyed. Such things as palatial crowds, automatic queuing up for busses and tube tickets have been dealt with by others. I strated a queue myself involuntarily by stopping to read the list of stations on a subway ticket machine; when I turned around a line had formed behind me! It has been colder here than we expected and we decided therefore not to go up to Glasgow. We'll go to Liverpool and then fly to Paris by April 29.

MAY DAY in Paris - Letter in Regard to England & France - Paris, May 12, 1953

We spent three days in Liverpool, going by bus from London thru very pleasant countryside. Everywhere were green fields and flowering trees all neatly laid out. One can understand why Engels looking at this said that everywhere man looks on nature transformed by himself. (One got the same impression of lushness from the countryside between Dieppe and Paris which we saw from the train. Only here the growth was less prim looking and greener). The bus went thru Stratford-on-Avon and thru a non-industrial corner of Birmingham, so we can say "We was there", but that is all.

Liverpool itself presented quite a contrast. We were near the docks thruout our stay. Rows of dirty, dark grey stone houses, no greenery. Even in the little square near our hotel, the beds of tulips looked dingy. The first thing we did that evening was to look up Jean's relatives who live in one of the stone houses not too far from the docks. The father is in the post office, one son is a machinist, the other in an auto factory is being drafted into the army, and the daughter is an office workers. They received us very warmly and invited us to dinner the next day. Here I spent the whole day by the fire (no central heating..I think this was the only warm room in the house). They treated us royally - two splendid feeds, probably using up most of their meat ration. Mrs. L. is the hardest worker in the family as she does all the housework (all washing and ironing), feeds the others at various times, and also works outside part-time. Incidentally, here one can see what a lousy job the housework is with limited facilities. Apparently also, no male busies himself in the kitchen. There are no iceboxes - in the winter I can see why they are unnecessary.

Politically they are Conservative I think (Liverpool is a Conservative stronghold) but class conscious. You can see why the conservatism - every member of the family working when the city itself is a "black area" - unemployment is wide-spread and conditions among the dockers are bad.

Having done our duty by our friend we visited a comrade in Birkenhead who is the head of a committee of dockers which was set up as part of the preparations (unofficial) for a strike in 1950-51. No strike ocured then as a raise was given. The committee continues to exist as an "unofficial organization" within the dockers' union in opposition to the official leadership. They issue a printed paper which is militant in tone, whose aim is to improve dockers' conditions but which reports also struggles going on elsewhere. They take political leadership from the Trotskyites because they are looking for some and because the Trotskyites have a printed weekly paper within the labor party, not because the Trotskyites are involved.

The wage is about \$19.75 a week. On this Dan is supporting a wife and 2 kids. They also laid out a nice "tea" for us. After this, we went around to a pub to meet some of the boys around the committee.

The best part of this visit to Birkenhead was that we were not treated to theories of exceptionalism, the non-existence of classes, etc. Where the going is hard and a struggle is patently necessary, there is no room for these rationalizations which we heard in London both from the right and the left.

Just before we left London for Liverpool we had supper with 2 ILP functionaries who expressed these points of view. In fact they seemed to be for going into the LP but their membership is against it - so they complain. So you have the phenomena of the full time "leaders" working at and for something they do not believe in. Undoubtedly there is some "prosperity" in England--one of these guys pointed to the fact that 5 people in one family were working (a fact which we saw again in Liverpool at the L's) earning altogether \$120 a week. He used this to prove that depression days were forgotten and that the English worker would never move in a revolutionary direction, etc. Obviously, he has not forgotten depression days because 5 working in a family is a big thing to him.

The national health scheme engineered by Bevan seems to be the one real gain made by the class (even tho of course they pay for it in taxes). Doctor bills are no longer a drain. This is important in evaluating living standards.

We decided not to fly to Paris but to go by train and boat in order to take in

some of the countryside. I could take it or leave it alone but Joe enjoyed the Channel crossing. Neither of us was affected by it altho it was called choppy. We each took half a dramamine tablet and that seemed to do the trick -- we even had lunch on the boat. That stuff makes me drowsy tho, so I slept most of the way and also from Dieppe to Paris.

I was really glad to get here! It is warmer and it is a really beautiful city. Contrasted to London's primness and geometric bushes and flowerbeds, it had a lay-out which has a greater sweep -- and a liveliness and nervousness which we did not find in England. In fact we have decided to stay here as long as we can. It is a city in which you can walk endlessly...at this time it has a very inviting air. Of course, we have seen only a section of it...the Left Bank where we are now staying for \$1.50 a nite (no breakfast), the Luxemburg gardens, along the Seine, the Louvre and a few other places.

Prices are higher than in England but we have yet to find a bad meal -- at any price. To everything is added a "service" charge so that our \$1.50 room will probably come to more. The language is a problem -- the spoken word is almost impossible to understand unless it is repeated slowly. The written word we do not have trouble with. As for expressing ourselves...it is a sweating job. We discovered that when we contacted some Anarchists Monday and were trying to exchange ideas. It was not so hard when we contacted May's cousin and her husband but it still way not easy.

I have saved the most interesting for last: MAY DAY in Paris.

When we emerged from the hotel we noticed that everything had a holiday air. Flower sellers in the streets, shops closed, people going to the railway station for a day or weekend somewhere. This seemed to be independent of any radical sentiment. When we arrived at the point of departure for the Stalinist-CGT parade (the only one), the Place de la Nation was crowded with watchers and the parade had already started. We tried to catch up with the front but altho we made our way along the line of march, when we came near the end, the sidewalk was too jammed for us to push our way thru to a place where we could see the reviewing stand. So we found a place along the curb and stood there for almost 3 hours in the rain.

It was impressive to see so many people in a May Day demonstration. The people lining the curbs 5 to 10 deep were also supporters of it, taking up the slogans and songs. However, it was depressing to see the tri-color everywhere, along with red flags bearing the names of the CGT divisions, etc. The Stalinists now are coming down very heavy on patriotism and unity and the tone of the slogans was very mild. "Free Henry Martin" (soldier) and "Free Messali Hadj" (Algerian Nationalist leader) were the 2 most often heard. The solidest and most vociferous section was the Algerian and Tunisian nationalist group "Mouvement pour le Triumphe des Libertes Democratiques". This was the one section without red banners -- green is their color. The next largest section was the railroad workers. Civil service, teachers, students, metal and steel workers were also represented. (A friend informed us that the CGT has lost members and that shops exist where the majority have left the CGT but will follow its leadership in a strike. The Force Ouvriere has little influence. He says there is an ebb in CP influence also -- 7 years ago the line of march of the parade was 3 times as long). Anyway, it was a good humored rather than a militant mood -- except for the national section. Altho the CP tried to limit the tone to one of immediate demands the "Internationale" kept breaking out and being picked up by other marchers and by the onlookers, only to be drowned again by "Free Henry Martin" or "Free Messali". Everybody and his brother seemed to be peddling a publication.

The parade was stretched out by all kinds of youth, children, athletes, young



girl's groups, which had floats. Some of these athletes had on nothing but shorts and were shivering in the rain. This fancy stuff took up about an hour of the time. The children carried slogans for peace and for schools. The papers estimated that 22,000 were in the parade.

Cops in helmets and police trucks were stationed at various side streets about half a block from the line of march but none of them were along the sidewalks. There was no actual encounter that we noticed.

May 18 — Just a few notes to bring things up to date: We contacted communist anarchists with a healthier approach than usual to workers' movements. For example, didn't condemn May 1 parade out of hand because of Stalinist influence; support movements of CGT members; support the liberation of French colonies. But seem completely tail-endist. Opinion of them and Socialism or Barbarism group is that working class now is in recoil from previous high point.

Recent Renault strike: workers in Dept 74 struck; demands were for slow-down tempo; 3 weeks paid vacation, social security rights for Algerian workers, 25 francs an hour. Renault shut down factory, locked out all workers, brought police in to occupy the joint. Our contacts tell us that the union leaders of the 5 unions at R. unified into a united strike committee, did nothing about the strike, issued no directives, did not try to spread it, agreed to workers returning to work without any change in conditions and not any demands granted. We are told CGT has lost influence but apparently the workers are at a level where they strike readily without a tight organization. The day after the return to work at Renault, 3 leaflets were being distributed on the question of the strike.

The CP has sufficient influence to call stoppages on bus & metro lines (thru the unions) which inconvenience (as we found out!) or nag the authorities; however only about half responded to the last metro quickie. Signs of CP influence are in evidence in chalked up slogans, mostly "U.S. Go Home" or "Down with the Americans" as well as "Free Mess. Ali". "L'Humanite" & various posters are pasted up in various places. The city here has boardings where political propaganda may be pasted up, as well as ads.

Everything is calculated here in hundreds and thousands of francs which to me is quite confusing. (350 francs to the dollar, except for American Express checks which are worth 370 francs to the dollar -- lucky us!) However what little info. we have gleaned is that \$22 a week is the top wage at Renault - this is earned by a milling machine operator. Rent is cheap by our standards - \$9-\$20 a month are 2 sums we know of; but even the \$9 is that of a white collar worker's apartment. This does not include coal nor any facilities such as hot water. Except for bread, food is relatively high:  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. cheese, 1 lb. cherries,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. salt, 5 rolls cost us \$1.50 the other night. Restaurant meals have been from \$2 to \$3 for 2. One package of Kleenex is \$1.

Clothing prices are a little higher than in the U.S. - we have not been to the ritzy shopping district as we are on the Left Bank, quite near the Seine, and quite glad to be away from the tourist centers. Of course there are tourists here too but they are mostly students, occasional soldiers on leave, etc. On the night of the transportation tie-up we bumped into a soldier in civvies who was glad to share a cab with us; his main complaint was the food - he loves steak and the French don't know how to cook it. It developed that he had asked for a hamburger & had gotten served raw meat with a raw egg on top and some raw onion; apparently it is eaten that way because we saw someone order it and then mash it all up and eat it with gusto; it is to be distinguished on the menu from biftek hachi, which is cooked.

Letters From Germany

17 July 53, Karlsruhe, written while Joe was bathing at the Rheinstrandbad (not exactly in the Rhine, but a lagoon off of it).

Fully how the East-West struggle is never long forgotten. Even in such a peaceful-seeming semi-tourist town, you come up against it. Yesterday, sitting in the city park, waiting for Joe to get our valise from the railroad station where he had checked it, I was doing a crossword puzzle, when the woman sitting next to me asked in German what time it was. Seeing I couldn't speak (for once!) she immediately repeated it in English. Then she asked if I were working the puzzle for fun or for a contest. When I told her, she remarked that it must be hard, so I answered, No, etc. and that what she was doing -- sewing a hem on a flowered skirt -- seemed harder to me. She immediately agreed that she didn't like it either, but said she had to do it. She added that she was a refugee from the east -- Rostock and had come just before the June 15-17 events. Of course, I wanted to hear all about life there and she wanted to use her English and we had a conversation going.

What I gleaned: Her husband -- from whom she is divorced -- was a professor and the head of some institute in Rostock (neurology-psychology). His material situation was good; they (this included her & their 3 children, 14, 16, 18) had extra food allotments, etc. However he was not an SED member and "they" began to press him to join, and to do other things about which she was not clear. Finally, they accused him of bringing "cases" before his classes who were making anti-govt. propaganda. The crowning touch was the discovery in the institute library of his book, dedicated to Hitler -- this last she claimed meant nothing. Anyway, after insisting that she and the children leave too, he made for Leipzig and then crossed over "for vacation."

She also picked up and lit out, claiming to be on holiday. She was stopped at one point and questioned by Volkspolizisten for 20 minutes. Noting that all her household goods were with her, they tried to get her to admit that she was leaving, claiming that no harm would come to her. She refused and they let her go. She was flown to Frankfurt (I think) from W. Berlin; she thought very highly of the treatment she received altho she did not know exactly who was responsible.

Questioned by me on clothing, food, cultural life, general atmosphere and whether outside reports were not exaggerated, she replied that exaggeration was impossible and gave me some details of living: Fats are very scarce in the east. For her youngest she would get  $\frac{1}{2}$  litre of whole milk on one day and  $\frac{1}{2}$  litre of skim milk the next, and combine them. She would try to get clother or material from friends in the west or in the U.S. The local theatre put on plays with boy-meets-girl themes, but the 2 did not get together until they had done thier bit for the 5 year plan. Music while well performed was limited, to Shostakovich & other Russian composers. Her main complaint was that life was dull and she and her friends felt insecure as they did not know when they were being watched.

She said several times that her friends in the west and U.S. were well-fixed. She herself had been doing some graphology work in connection with psychology. Now she was going to work as a housekeeper in Heidelberg, with the intention of studying typing & stenography. When she spoke of packages received from her NY friends, she became misty-eyed. It was like a life-line, she said, and added meaningly that others should realize the value of it.

I asked her if pressure was put on her kids to join a youth group, and she replied that this had ocured once in relation to her youngest; but her husband had gone to the authorities, "explaining" that the boy had some internal disease which necessitated his keeping quiet and that he himself did not know this. They laid off.

She cut off the conversation, saying she had to go, and we wished each other good luck. Whether she was due somewhere or got alarmed at being questioned, or saw that I was not completely sympathetic, I do not know. She was a likable person who seemed to mean harm to no one but who would resent any change in her *modus vivendi*. Whether she would make any great effort to understand why changes occurred is doubtful. She struck me as a type who perhaps could be drawn into social movement, like many other sympathetic, "educated" petty bourgeois. Certainly the economic problems were not what worried her most -- she had not needed to work as her husband gave her enough for the 4 of them. Her immediate antecedents were bourgeois -- her grandfather had endowed an institute for research.

I am not trying to evaluate life in the east zone on the basis of her report -- and I hope nobody else does. She does bear out one contention; that a portion of the refugees are bourgeois or petty bourgeois. As for the deadness of life, that is observable in west Berlin too -- and the U.S. for that matter. It seems to me to be a product of terror instituted by the ruling power. Naturally if one is in agreement with a govt. policy and sees a purpose to it, one will find more interest in life. However, as I have already said, one cannot speculate too much on one woman's story. The S-Bahn (Berlin city railroad, eastern owned) worker to whom Joe spoke had a different grievance: Anything of his combined earnings and pension which totaled over 300 marks was frozen in the east sector; he had either to spend it there or to save it (with the fear that he might never see it again).

Freiburg, 23 July 53, our last stop in Germany: For the future and for the interest of any friends who contemplate travel, I have tried to estimate what daily expenses are, even tho we have not been making as close an observation as in France or England, and do not have material on wages, except for a few figures like 303 DM take-home pay for a school-teacher, 394 for the railway worker, 268 for a postal worker -- all per month.

We were able to live on \$6-\$8 a day, not counting travel money. This included 3 meals a day, varying from \$1-\$2 per meal for both of us, with an occasional meal of bread, cheese & fruit, and an occasional free meal. Yesterday was market day with stands set up all around the cathedral, mostly fruits and vegetables. Here we each got a hot dog--a long wurst with a small roll wrapped around its midl for 12½ cts each. Mirabelles, a cherry-like fruit, only larger, probably a grafting of some kind, were 9½¢ for 1 and 1 tenth lbs. This would be the mid-day meal, together with a stick of some kind -- women everywhere carry small bags or baskets and at any hour you may see someone munching on the contents thereof. In fact, we have seen that in our 3rd class travels most people take along food and stop at a restaurant for a drink or soup, rarely for a regular meal.

Hotel rooms have been \$2-\$3 a nite, usually with hot running water, sometimes without. They can be had even cheaper depending on one's knowledge of their location and on the city. Incidentally, we have found that it makes all the difference to arrive at a place where we already have been the address of a cheap hotel, or where we have contacts who will tell us about one. (We are carefully keeping a list of same). In the big cities, prices are naturally higher. A couple of soldiers, Canadian, enlisted men, with whom we had a drink in Hanover told us that what had seemed cheap to us was expensive for the population and that outside this city, costs were much lower. We picked them up while we were watching them playing a slot machine, and they wanted to pay for the drinks. Also on the bus going thru the Schwarzwald, a dame from Milwaukee was complaining that at Karlsruhe she, her husband and littl girl had to pay \$1.75 for a room without running water; in a small town, she said, they had gotten one with water, for \$1.50.

Wine, alas, is almost twice as expensive as it is in France, and coffee and tea



(even more alas) are also very high - 15¢ a cup in a place that has a 2-course meal for 45 or 50¢. Bread is usually not included and is added to the bill if you ask for it.

In general the standard of living is nearest to the U.S. that we have seen so far. Technology, triumphant! Even the cars, clothes, radios, etc., are scarcer. When we went to a swimming pool maintained at the edge of town for vacationers, sitting at a restaurant, looking down over it, I suddenly realized with pleasure that there was not a single radio yacking -- every one seemed active, and even having fun, but no artificial noise. Then I did a double-take and noticed another pleasant feature -- no luminous bathing suits! That is one thing I simply cannot visualize in Germany anyway. Men walk around in shorts, looking like overgrown boys, but they will never wear luminous socks (I hope).

We are at the edge of the Black Forest here, vacationland. The trip thru the BF was not all it is cracked up to be, altho the bus had the nicest musical horn which it tooted at all stopping places to announce its arrival, quite like the stage coach of yore. The mail bus which we were on takes a very winding route up and around the mountains, and from time to time you get a lovely view. Some spots are covered with nothing but pines and hemlocks, the forest primeval. But there is also much farming territory. I can imagine a farmer from Indiana wondering what those crazy bastards are doing on the side of a mountain. Rain, which has been pretty frequent this summer, obscured some of the view.

We had a much better view from Schauinsland (1284 metres high, or 8 Chicago blocks, I am informed) which we "climbed" by cable car from Freiburg. It is quite a ride up. From the top, can be seen very faintly in the distance the snow-covered tops of the Alps. At first they look like cloud formations and then you begin to be convinced there are really mountings thataway. There is even a sun-dial-like structure which shows you in which direction are Jungfrau, Mont Blanc, etc.-- like Lookout Mt. (even the same name - Schauinsland) which has a view of 7 states. Actually the view is swell, in spite of the labels.

Freiburg itself is a pleasant town, very spick & span looking -- too much so, until, again, as you go thru the town you see ruins everywhere behind the facade. This town really got flattened out and is being rebuilt very slowly. This is in the French sector and evidently France has put very little money into her zone. The people seem friendly; in fact have seemed so all over Germany, by and large, but if I get tired of seeing soldiers in khaki wherever we go, I imagine they must be plenty sick of it.

Well, we leave for Basel, in an hour, then for Luzern where we'll take a gander at the scenery, and finally reach Milan -- our trek there seems to have stretched out, but since we have to Aug. 11, we might as well be in one place as another.

#### Impressions of Berlin, July 1 thru 11, 1953

This city is split in 2 and the visitor is never allowed to forget it. The route one may take on the streetcar or subway, the headlines in the papers, the conversations with acquaintances concerning wages, hours, conditions, any general subject-- everything is conditioned by the division between West Berlin & East Berlin.

The political boundary lines began to assume an overwhelming importance in daily life with the initiation of the new currency by the Allies in 1948. They carried out a unilateral currency reform which gave W. Germany and W. Berlin a hard currency while E. Germany continued with a soft one. As can be imagined, speculation was rife and the economy badly disrupted. Both businesses and individuals tried to buy for eastmarks and sell for westmarks. Small businesses in the western sec-

tors of Berline suffered. The E sector began to be denuded of goods. To stop this flow of goods to the west, Russia clamped down the blockade which in turn occasioned the Allied airlift.

After the settlement of the blockade, the workers on the S-Bahn (city railroad controlled by the E Berlin govt.) struck, demanding their pay in the new westmarks. They won an agreement that 60% of their wages would be paid in the new currency. In addition, the W. city govt. allows workers working in the E sector and living in the west to change up to 300 eastmarks of their monthly wage into westmarks on a 1 for 1 bases by applying to a magistrate. On the free market, the 2 marks fluctuated in value, finally coming to a relationship of 5 to 1 in favor of the westmark.

Last January, at the border between the 2 sectors, baggage inspection was begun. By this spring, the split in the city was reflected in every sphere of life: 2 currencies; 2 price scales; 2 wage scales; a barrier to free passage between the 2 sectors; even the barring of newspapers of each side from circulation in the other zone.

1. West Berlin: To an American, what is striking is the amount of money the U.S. has given to fight the cold war. In fact W Berlin seems more like a military outpost than a political city. Or, as a friend put it, the Allies are maintaining it as a show window for the East, and Exhibit A for western (read U.S.) "democracy". Altho the city govt. is nominally Social Democratic, no independent socialist propaganda appears: Its policy is freely equated with that of the U.S. The papers appearing here include a U.S. backed Neue Zeitung as well as other publications less openly supported by the U.S.

Fresh from England and France where we had some relief from the type of propaganda pounding us at home, we were aware of the change in political atmosphere as soon as we hit Germany. We felt almost as if we were back on home territory. In Berlin it is even more pronounced. Some examples of the political climate:

- Someone told us he knew a journalist who was making a living by writing anti-communist articles. He said that this journalist would like to do other subjects but had to write what was currently acceptable in order to seal his work.

- When we asked what the sentiment on the Rosenberg case was, we were told by one fellow that "most people" were angry at the postponements of their execution.

- We went, with some other people, to look at Potsdamer Platz where the burning of the E Berline dept. store had taken place on June 17. The streets leading up to it on the western side are dead -- stores closed, no people, policemen guarding the boundary line. On the other side of the street could be seen some soldiers at east. On our escort explaining to the cops that we were American visitors, we were allowed to go right up to the line where 2 more cops were standing. One offered binoculars to us to look across. Immediately one of the soldiers took out a pair and looked back. "Ooh", exclaimed a lady in our party, "they are looking at us thru glasses! They're looking for spies".

- We were invited to meet several young people involved in a satirical journal issued for free distribution in E Berlin, dedicated to the exposure of Communism. The contributors are undoubtedly gifted but the type of propaganda is strictly anti-red. It is a 3-color job and makes use of red freely to represent all that is bad in the east. Knowing living conditions are poor here, we were surprised to see such an expensive print job and I asked how much one issue costs: "50,000 (west)marks". Approximately, \$12,500. "Who pays for it?" "The American military authorities probably". This bothers our young friends not a bit. We got into a discussion of the line of the organ which presents no positive alternative, and by default implies that conditions are basically different in the west. But we made no headway-- the presentation of a class viewpoint or of the need to struggle against capitalism is not important to them.

- Another publication, openly financed by the U.S., appears with the cover of an eastern publication to enable E Berliners to safely read it on the train. The propaganda here is in a serious vein: On the next-to-last page of a 1952 issue was full-page photo of the body of a girl "raped and murdered by the Russians" -- in 1946. The U.S. army as the protector of European womanhood!

When we came, and for the next week, the June 17 events in the eastern zone were being featured here all the time. The papers lived on headlines about it. Only these last few days have other topics begun to replace the scare stuff. Despite all the emphasis, however, the original aspect of the demonstrations -- workers' refusal to obey a speedup order -- has been buried under tons of propaganda about the horrors of communism. The western city govt. made a tremendous show of sorrow for the victims, naturally making political capital for western "democracy". (How democratic can a city govt. get when it is under the shadow of 3 imperialist occupying armies?)

One would think that a series of workers' demonstrations would encourage those who say they oppose oppression in the east. Yet they seem only to have made the people we met more uneasy. There is agitated talk about the terrible Russians and none at all about the workers who did something about these "terrible Russians". There is an attitude of defeatism in this divided and occupied country and a hope that American military and economic power will protect them from Russia. This fear of Russia is shared by diverse elements -- Social Democrats, ex-Stalinists, white guardists, German nationalists, and workers who live in the west and work in the east. As Berlin is in the midst of Russian-occupied Germany, it is easy to play on a feeling of uneasiness -- which the western powers do to the full -- and to divert attention from the poor conditions of life in the western half of the city.

There are about 250,000 unemployed in W Berlin, out of a population of over 2 million. Evidences of hardship are seen in small things such as persons taking along sandwiches when they visit friends; a discussion as to whether subway fare is 20 or 25 pfennigs (a difference of 10 or 40 translated into U.S. wage-price relations). The restaurants seem never to fill up; generally, only one or two others will be there when we are. The cop who lent us the binoculars at Potsdamer Pl. wanted to know if an experienced locksmith could get a job in the U.S. He had evidently joined the police force because he could find no work in his trade. He asked us also about trade unions in the U.S. and could not understand that the unions did not have a socialist party at their head.

Housing of course is scarce although much rebuilding and refacing have gone on. Ruins are still widely in evidence; at first one is struck by the newness, but then empty buildings or parts of buildings become more noticeable; one notices also how much internal rebuilding has been done; finally, the bullet-holes on the sides of buildings. You can get an idea of the extent of destruction also from the number of green spots that were formerly cultivated and are now growing wild.

The cop was by no means the only one interested in life in the U.S. The living conditions plus propaganda for the American way have resulted in dream-pictures of how we live. Exaggerated ideas of conveniences, etc. are rife. When we were sitting around in a friend's flat on a hot night someone asked us; "You have automatic cooling in your apartment, don't you?" And this was a man who was not taken in by Voice of America propaganda; he had simply been given a false picture of living conditions. When we visited the U.S.-maintained Amerika Haus in Berlin (and Munich too) we saw how it was done. Photographs are on display showing typical modes of living: In Berlin where there is a series of pictures showing the interior of a new frame house, the shots are so angled that you never see the whole room, the shoddy "moderne" furniture shows up better than it is, and the unpaved walks in this housing development are discreetly ignored. One thing, however, America can-



not live down. It is known as the land of the speedup!

11. Events of June 16 & 17: From conversations with several people, and from the press, we have tried to construct a picture of the events. In this surcharged-atmosphere, however, all happenings are distorted into aspects of the cold war. The rulers of the east charge that fascists and provocateurs started the demonstrations. The rulers of the west say that they were spontaneous demonstrations for western democracy and specifically for the W Berlin govt. Undoubtedly, workers were protesting a govt. order. Undoubtedly, the red flag which flies from the Brandenburger Tor was removed and the W German flag was run up in its place. On the other hand, we have been told that unemployed and members of the Socialist youth from W Berlin went over to lead a demonstration. Our interest is to separate the working class content from the political capital which the W German bourgeoisie and the Allies are trying to make of these events.

Russia's dismantling and lifting factories for reparations payments resulted in a driving of the workers to increase production to restore the economy. From what we gather, piecework is the general rule. In line with this policy, the govt. of the eastern sector issued an order on June 15 that workers must produce more or suffer a corresponding pay cut. Sensitive to the mood of the workers, the SED protested this order and it was withdrawn. The withdrawal however was too late to prevent the outbreak of a huge storm of protest.

On June 16, construction workers on a building project on Stalinallee struck and started a demonstration which mushroomed in a few hours to include thousands of people. These continued the next day. Some groups of workers resumed their strike at 7 AM and the movement became general at the 9 AM (second breakfast" break. Several large groups of strikers converged on Alexander Platz and massed in front of the SED central hdq. On the other side of the square, a contingent of soldiers and Volkspolizei were drawn up. The demonstrators yelled for the SED officials to come out of the building and these, believing that they would be protected by the presence of the military, came down to talk to the crowd. The demonstrators, however, beat them up while the soldiers and police did nothing to stop this.

From Alexander Platz, the demonstrators began to move to the govt. center to the southwest. Police blocked the shortest approach to this district by holding the bridges. Consequently, the major part of the crowd moved northwest thru a working class quarter and then turned south. A group of SED youth who attempted to stop the march were defeated and dispersed. Meanwhile workers from Henningsdorf--an industrial suburb northwest of Berlin--had also struck and started a march to the govt. offices thru the French sector. They were warmly greeted in the working class area of the French sector and some workers joined the demonstration. (These workers were unhindered by bosses or police in the western sector, apparently.) By the early afternoon of June 17, the govt. quarter was being flooded by demonstrators from 3 directions. At this time, the E. German govt. proclaimed martial law and a curfew and brought in a column of tanks and troops from camps lying to the east of the city. However, the demonstrators would not disperse on the mere show of force. The military units (possibly they were East Zone Volkspolizei) fired on the crowds to break up the demonstration. By 9 PM the armed forces had dispersed the crowds and had worked their way up to the border of W. Berlin.

Several instances of the Volkspolizei's refusing to fire on demonstrators and joining the crowd were reported. On Potsdamer Platz in a partially restored building where the govt. higher-priced stores are, the Vopo had a unit of 6 men. When the store was surrounded by a large group of workers, the 6 men threw away their arms and uniforms and joined the crowd. Some army men also refused to fire on demonstrators. Later, the govt. disbanded 3/4 of the local Vopo and called up others from out of town who were kept in barracks.

June 18 to June 21 most of the workers who had struck did not go back to work. Then, production in the East Zone gradually returned to pre-strike levels. On the day that the border in Berlin was again opened, July 9, the press again reported that strikes and slowdowns were in progress but there was no further follow-up on this.

111 A Walk in the Eastern Sector: On July 8th we read in the Herald Tribune that there was more trouble in E. Berlin: Strikes, slowdowns, the replacing of Volkspolizei by Army men with tommy guns. We began to despair of the possibility of going into the eastern sector, figuring that now all entry would be hard, altho 9 control points had already been opened. Early on July 9th, however, we saw in the W Berlin Telegraf, under a headline which gave the opposite impression, that the border was officially opened to all for free passage. This paper also reported unrest thruout E Germany but made clear that the "Army men" were out-of-town Volkspolizei in khaki.

This was all we were waiting for. By 930 we were on the S-Bahn which is owned by the E city and which runs into it. Naturally, after all the terrible stories of life and work here, we were on the lookout for signs of extreme poverty and of unrest -- and just as naturally we didn't find them. We observed human beings, mostly housewives in cotton dresses, going on about their business. The people were perhaps more poorly dressed than those we have been seeing but we are in a middle-class section and E Berlin is largely a workers' district.

What did stand out was the presence of painted slogans everywhere, about peace, freedom, etc. in the German Democratic Republic. A giant red banner stretched across one building had in white lettering: "Marx was great because he was correct -- Lenin" (Or words to that effect). This profound idea was repeated several times on other buildings. We made for the Stalinallee station because on this street were the construction projects on which the strikes had started. Descending from the S-bahn, we were greeted by a huge picture of Stalin on which was some reference to his undying greatness.

Thus fortified, we came out onto the street and were immediately impressed by its pleasant aspect. It is a boulevard with greenery and new-looking houses. Pieces of general propaganda are tacked up all along the way, as well as in the side streets which we explored a little. There are also various military proclamations. One, dated June 17, proclaimed a curfew, prohibited gatherings of more than 3 persons and established martial law: this was due, it said, to the disturbances incited by fascists, agents of the imperialists and provocateurs. Another, dated July 8, informed the public of the lifting of the blockade and again referred to saboteurs, etc. who had tried to disrupt the peaceful work in E Berlin. We were struck by the meaningless use of red everywhere -- always before it had signified either opposition to an existing govt. or to world capitalism. Here it is used only to help the govt. Red flags were even flying from two cranes in operation on a building job.

On the side streets, where refacing has not been done, some of the buildings look pretty bad -- despite the ever-present window boxes of geraniums. Small shops, many of which were closed or empty, gave an impression of deadness. The quality of the goods displayed was poor and this also added to the depressing aspect. Shoes, for example, were made of heavy, clumsy soles, paper insoles; very few were of leather. In the U.S. "casual shoes" are of not much better quality but are designed to look better. Here shoddy looks like shoddy. Clothing also was of poor quality and design. Prices are high.

Back on Stalinallee, we came to a school with a bulletin board in front. On this was a program for a 4-day outing and menu for all 4 days, which neatly listed in

typed columns the food and the weight of each portion. The largest item in each meal was either bread or potatoes. "Milk -- 200 gr." was listed once. We passed a store displaying clothing. Short-sleeved angora pullovers were \$12. Going in, we noticed that the place was poorly lit and confirmed later that electricity is short. A notice issued by the govt. last Nov. was prominently displayed: It stressed the fact that speculators from the west were still coming in and trying to rob the people of their labor and decreed that for this reason goods should be sold only to inhabitants of the east sector.

Houses on each side of the boulevard are being rebuilt a block at a time. The finished products are 8-story buildings, only one or two to a block. Govt. stores are on the street level and apartments are above. They appear to be well-designed but our western friends say the materials are poor. In the entryways are the names of the house committees of 5; there was an announcement of a house meeting in one.

We kept looking at the articles displayed in the HO stores (govt.-maintained shops where ordinarily rationed goods may be bought at higher prices). Item: Frozen fish from Iceland with its package printed in English. Item: Typewriters -- the cheapest, a portable, 350 m; an office type machine, 1250 m (\$310). Item: A large picture of Marx and a statement that he was the best leader of the German people (not for sale). Food prices, tho, are cheaper than those in W. Berlin. In a meat store, we read a notice condemning the June 17 demonstrations as the work of provocateurs and fascists; it said in part: "The weapons of workers do not include cans of benzine and phosphorus bombs such as were thrown by the fascists" (Very free translation).

Finally, the building project. Large loudspeakers were affixed to posts at intervals down the block. These gave forth a march that sounded like a steam calliope, followed by some singing, and then violin music. Muzak for building workers -- socialism in the east zone! Work seemed to be in full progress. On the scaffoldings on each side of the street were signs, again white letters on a red background. One read: "Fulfilled! We work. Building workers sections ----". The other: "Our leadership has granted the demands of the building workers...we work".

From this point on, Stalinalee presented a very impressive sight. The whole thing is new: Big buildings on each side of the street, new good-looking lamp posts (there speaks a sensitive Chicagoan!), new pavement. We turned off again and found that the rebuilding was not confined to the boulevard. There were several blocks of new houses that were not so pretentious as those on the boulevard.

By this time it was noon and we were tired. We sat down on the stone parapet of a flight of stairs leading into one of the new buildings to observe a queue which had formed in front of the food stores, but we couldn't find out what the line was for. A couple of building workers in dusty work clothes and wooden mules stopped a third man in front of us to get lites for their cigarettes. The 2 stood chatting and smoking for a minute and then one showed the other a bottle of wine he had bought. Finally they ambled off, clumsy in their wooden mules. Down the block, a pair of Volkspolizei, one in blue, one in khaki, stood by the curb with their rifles slung over their backs and nobody paying them much overt attention. This was the 2nd pair we had seen -- the first were both in khaki, Tommy guns in evidence.

We began to get hungry and thirsty and were faced with the problem of returning to the west zone as we had only westmarks on us and could neither eat here nor buy a subway ticket. The nearest point of western democracy was in the U.S. sector (where else?) so we headed for it, passing a very swell-looking railway depot. The boundary line lay on the other side of a canal. As we approached the bridge, we passed a jeepful of khaki-clad Vopos, and then a large tent to one side of the bridge in which some Vopos were barracked. Several more pairs were on the bridge and



the bridge approaches. No one did more than look at us -- we were of course not the only ones crossing. No obvious stares, no suspicious looks, despite dire warnings which we had received before we set out. Crossing the bridge, we passed a woman coming from the other direction with shopping bag full of potatoes (apparently this is permitted). We knew we were safe when we saw the boundary sign announcing that we were entering the U.S. sector and could carry arms only while on duty; this message was printed in English, French and Russian. In German there was only one line saying that we were entering the U.S. zone.

###

" Only the Workers' Revolution can  
Demolish the Monster American State "

The naval arm, indispensable tool of imperialism is supplanted by the development of aviation. Specifically, it is the air-arm which has superseded the battleships. The second world war was said to be the last word in the development of battleships: that colossus of the sea, which by now, is a proof of weakness, not of naval supremacy. For the future the ship-yards will not build any more battleships, useless for modern wars of air-fleets which land on the decks of aircraft-carriers.

The continuous development of productive technique has inevitable repercussions on the military technique, a principle expressed by Napoleon one-hundred and fifty years ago: "The nature of arms---its distribution---decides the composition of the army, its plan of campaign, line of march, positions, order of battle, location of fortified towns. It is this which establishes the basic difference between war in antiquity and modern war". It is to the honor of Napoleon that he was a principled materialist in understanding the relationship of arms to military organization. His greater comparative realism hurt the vanity of the generals who opposed him, who attributed solely to his genius the brilliant victories over the coalition captained by England. But---what causes bring about at times a radical transformation of the "nature of arms" in a brief period? Marxism, here intervenes to clarify and resolve the question. Since final victory is not due to military adversary, nor to a local or general war, the leadership of a single nation, nor coalition of states, to what is the final victory due? The answer which finds easy agreement seems the most powerful.

But when we deepen the concept of the military force of the state nine out of ten describe the moral qualities of nations, the traditions of peoples, the sagacity and astuteness of governments, the genius of commanders. Without a doubt, the subjective conditions and the ability with which governments succeed in profiting from the particular tendencies and prejudices of their subjects are an important factor, but, along with the rest are determined by material factors of social development. To the crowd of know-nothings, the sole minor or major power over the disposal of arms and their preparation rests in the military force of the State.

"Power", wrote Engels in Anti-Duhring, "is not a simple act of will, but requires for its execution great preliminary preparation, particularly in arms---the best in quality (in our time---the aircraft carrier) to conquer the less perfected (the battleship, the heavy cruiser, the destroyer). Moreover, these arms must be manufactured. Once this is said, nevertheless, the possessor of the most perfected arms, vanquishes the possessor of the less perfected arms. In a word, the victory of power is founded on production in general, on economic power, on economic conditions, on the ability to dispose of the material means of existence."

To remain within the imperialist epoch: two world wars confirmed the Marxist thesis that the military victory of the State is based on economic power, on the capacity for the production of the most perfected arms. For two years, the U.S. and England, were pressed with their shoulders to the ground, by an economically inferior power, in spite of the combativity of the majority of their troops, and the superior technical preparation of the majority of the States that finally won over their common enemy. As for the present, what is the relation of forces between the probably participants in an eventual third world war?

Underscoring the Napoleonic principle, the major States of most of the militarily important powers are working radical changes of technique, strategy and tactics, creating a truly recognized superiority of aviation over the navy of the old type. The functions of the battleships, heavy cruisers, destroyers, is definitely transferred to aircraft carriers. The aircraft carrier has taken over the protec-

tion of convoys from ambush by submarines, from bombardment by sharpshooters, made up of enemy naval forces. It has taken over the protection of defensive preparations of industry, transport and communications as well as anti-aircraft defense against enemy assault. The aircraft-carrier has greater speed and a much vaster range of action. For example; recently the government announced the American aircraft carrier anchored at Naples had convoyed ships carrying atomic bombs for more than 700 miles and return to the point of departure. Compared to the air-arm, the battleship, for range of sudden attack is like the bow and arrow in comparison to a shot-gun. The superior fire power (the carrier of 45,000 tonnage of the class "Coral Sea" and "Franklin Roosevelt" belonging to the 6th fleet based at Naples are endowed with 120 atomic aircraft; greater offensive and defensive ability, greater velocity for attack, interception and assault, turbo-engines for anti-submarine patrol, bi-motored for atomic bombardment, radar to detect naval and aircraft, radio-guided missiles with atomic war-heads and an imposing number of fire-arms of small and medium calibre for close range rapid fire) these are the characteristics which make the aircraft carrier a formidable arm with a terrific destructive capacity, almost invulnerable. Certainly no war on sea or land represents instruments of war more perfected than the production technique which the present conditions permit. Whoever possesses the aircraft carrier dominates the sea and the lines of communication between the continents.

In consideration of the superiority of the aircraft carrier in comparison to the traditional naval armaments, the first place in the scale of world naval power is held by the U.S.: 4 battleships, 29 aircraft carriers, 19 heavy cruisers, 248 destroyers, 149 submarines. The second place--either Russia or England. Certainly Russia possesses a greater number of surface vessels and submarines. Russia has 3 battleships (amongst which is the former Italian battleship, Julius Caesar), 20 heavy cruisers, 100 destroyers, 370 submarines. But Russia has no carriers, while England has 5 old type carriers, 1 battleship, 11 heavy cruisers, 31 destroyers. By 1955, the U.S. will have 2 super-carriers nuclear-propelled, of 60,000 tons each, the "Saratoga" and the "Forrestal".

Since the U.S. possesses the most perfected arms in the world, it follows that it is the greatest economic power in existence. This hypothesis which for Engels was a fixed principle not only applies to the interpretation of the relation of forces between the Russian economy and the American but to the fact that the Moscow government uses its supposed margin of superior productivity for the purpose of peaceful labor. This is because it is up against the fact that it has found it impossible as yet to obtain the atomic bomb. The proof is in the recent measures directed at increasing production of articles for consumption. An "atomic race" would saddle economic restrictions on the great working masses. Notwithstanding this, Russia has not up till now, any carriers, and when they are not able to be produced annuls Russia's initial advantage. That of the U.S. is really enormous. The supremacy of the aero-navy of America signifies that neither the eventual near outbreak of world war, nor Russia's probably becoming the master of Europe and Asia will ever enable it to undertake the invasion of America. This places America as a tough force to wear out, which in turn will break the more feeble euro-asiatic economic power. It is a force that can be poised as a constant threat, and is capable of repeating the experience of gigantic landings at all costs, which decided the second world war. Economic power, political power, military power make Washington the world center of capitalism. It is the back of Atlas for the support of the world bourgeoisie. American capitalism cannot be vanquished by hunger nor armed invasion, as claimed alternately by pacifist propaganda and war propaganda fed by Moscow and its political satellites. In an eventual world war, the probability of victory is all for the coalition headed by the U.S. The rocket superiority claimed by Russia does not have a fig token of material power.

Russia, which disguises its own imperialist aims under the usurped banner of the October Revolution searches anxiously for an agreement with the United States.

American Imperialism has one sole enemy that can demolish its arrogant power;  
REVOLUTION BY THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS.